THE CRISIS

A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

Volume Three FEBRUARY, 1912 Number Four

Captain CHARLES YOUNG, United States Army

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THE CRISIS

A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

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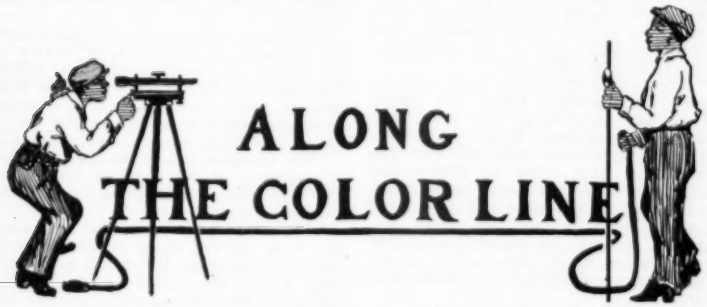
Volume Three FEBRUARY, 1912 Number Four



ECONOMICS.

Continued testimony accumulates showing notable economic advance among colored people. At the recent meeting of the American Economic Association one speaker said: "The figures at present obtainable indicate that between 1890 and 1910 the Negro farm owners increased nearly 90 per cent. and that the value of their holdings in that same period has considerably more than doubled. If we leave out of account all Negroes in the South, except those who own land, we find that these alone have become an economic force that must be reckoned with. In South Carolina, for instance, not only are most of the farms run by Negroes but 25 per cent. of the actual owners are black.

¶ The filing of the will of the late George W. Smith, colored, of Champaign County, Illinois, shows an estate, the estimated value of which is $116,000, including 400 acres of good land.

¶ Mr. M. N. Work reports that colored people are operating 110,373 farms in Alabama, containing one-third of all the improved land in the State. The total value of the products raised by Negroes on farms in the State in 1910 amounts to $40,000,000.

¶ The Mill City Cotton Mills near Dallas, Tex., have started work. They represent an investment of something over $100,000.

¶ Among the other manufacturing enterprises which colored people more or less control, there are reported a silk factory in North Carolina, an oil mill and hosiery mill in Mississippi, and a hosiery mill in North Carolina.

¶ A farmers' conference is being held at Hampton Institute, Hampton, Va.

¶ The Metropolitan Mercantile and Realty Company of New York City is said to be completely bankrupt and more than 5,000 colored people will lose about half a million dollars.

¶ The State Bureau of Industrial Statistics of Pennsylvania reports that the Negroes own between $15,000,000 and $20,000,000 worth of real estate in Pennsylvania.

¶ A writer in the Joliet (Ind.) News, who has just been in Texas, says, with regard to Boley, Okla., which is seventy miles east of Guthrie: "The town is only eight years old, has over 3,000 population, and there is not a white person living in the town. They have four miles of cement sidewalk, waterworks, an electric-light plant, a bank and everything that a modern little city has. There is also a large college high school. One business block, now being erected by the Colored Masons, the second and third stories being used for lodge purposes, will cost over $30,000. I noticed fine new brick stores now under construction."

¶ In Oklahoma it is reported that three colored women are very wealthy through the ownership of land in the oil district. Miss Isabella Lewis owns eighty acres, which promises an income of nearly $400,000 a year. Miss Josephine Morris owns one hundred and fifty acres and has accumulated several million dollars. Mrs. Glenn and her daughters have an income of over $100,000.

¶ Wellington Stewart, who recently died in Missouri, had accumulated a $30,000 estate.

¶ The special committee on industrial peace in Los Angeles has received a communication from colored people which says: "Since the prime object of your movement is the adjustment of the difficulties between 'organized labor' and capital, according to the press reports, permit me, in behalf of the 15,000 or 20,000 Negroes of this city, who stand outside the ranks of 'organized' labor, to ask that they be not overlooked, both in representation and in the adjustment of these serious difficulties.

"Although unorganized and unrepresented in 'organized labor,' yet permit me to say that there are many just grievances and complaints which the colored people bear with patience and hopefulness that could be allayed and settled amicably by a proper understanding between the capitalist and the colored people. Many wrongs are being perpetrated against the colored people of Los Angeles as a race, which would cause darkest Southland to blush with shame."

EDUCATION.

James Tate Cater, a graduate of Atlanta University, '09, and at present a senior at Harvard College, is assistant in mathematics at this the oldest university in America.

¶ Leah Johnson, daughter of Joseph K. Johnson of Norfolk, Mass., led her class at graduation last June at the Norfolk High School, and took a $200 prize. She is now at Simmon's College. Her sister has gone to work on an abandoned farm and took first prize for greening apples at the Norfolk County Fair recently.

¶ The attendance at the public schools of the District of Columbia has decreased in the elementary grades and increased in the high schools. The decrease in lower grades is explained as the result of the lack of truant officers.

¶ A new manual training school for colored pupils is to be built in Washington.

¶ An effort is being made in Oklahoma to abolish the colored State College at Langston.

¶ The colored people of Louisiana are asking an appropriation for a normal school in Louisiana.

¶ The sixth annual conference of teachers in secondary colored schools of Virginia met at Virginia Union University.

¶ Many colored teachers' associations have been meeting in various Southern and border States.

¶ The trustees of the Jeanes fund have expended $40,000 during the last year, and together with the Slater fund are working in 2,500 communities.

¶ The Colored State Teachers' Association of Columbia, S. C., adopted resolutions which said: "We would therefore respectfully implore the school authorities to take deeper interest in and more careful insight into the operation of the Negro schools, especially in the rural section.

"We note, with regret, through a careful reading of the advance sheets of the report of superintendent of education, that the Negro schools of the State do not receive the care and attention to which they are entitled by the constitution and laws of the commonwealth.

"For instance, the terms are too short, the salaries of the teachers insufficient, the equipments inadequate, supervision woefully lacking.

"That we have carefully considered the item, in the State superintendent's report, relative to the small per capita paid during the past year for the education of the colored children, and feel that the amount is inadequate to train such citizens as the State of Carolina requires, the constitution providing that each child in the commonwealth shall receive at least $3 for each school year. The report shows that only $1.71 was expended on each colored child for the past school year."

¶ Luther Long, a little colored boy, made the best record last year of the 400 boys at the State Industrial School, Golden, Col.

SOCIAL UPLIFT.

The Frederick Douglass Hospital has succeeded in raising $294 more than the $15,000 which it asked for. The Public Ledger of Philadelphia has helped materially in raising the fund.

¶ It is announced that the $100,000 building of the colored Y. M. C. A., in the District of Columbia, will be ready this month.

The building has four stories and a basement, and contains forty-four dormitories, a boys' department, schoolrooms, Bible-class apartments, a large lobby, reading room, lunch room, gymnasium, swimming pool, locker rooms, shower baths, bowling alleys, barber shop and recreation rooms. The third and fourth floors, containing the dormitories, are already completed and they are well appointed. When finished, the building will be the finest of its kind for colored people. Of the $100,000, which it cost, the colored people of Washington have paid more than $25,000; John D. Rockefeller gave $25,000; Julius Rosenwald gave $25,000; the Central Association has raised about $11,000 to help secure the Rosenwald gift, and the remaining $4,000 is being raised.

¶ The colored Y. M. C. A. of Columbus, O., has collected $4,363 toward its new building.

¶ The colored colleges of Little Rock, Ark., are beginning a co-operative social-service movement.

¶ Governor Dix of New York is again being asked to muster in a colored regiment, which has already been formed.

¶ William F. Abbott has been made jail-keeper at the Raymond Street Jail, Brooklyn, at a salary of $1,200 a year.

¶ The new St. John's Congregational Church at Springfield, Mass., has club-rooms for girls and a memorial window in memory of John Brown.

¶ A hospital known as Boyd's Infirmary, with twenty rooms, two operating rooms and two large surgical wards, has been opened in Nashville, Tenn.

¶ A delegation of colored Philadelphians have called on the new reform mayor to offer their aid and ask his assistance. They offer aid in ridding the city of the low Negro dives which politicians have planted in colored districts to seduce the Negro voters. They ask aid "to make it possible for colored people to obtain employment along lines other than those of beggarly paid menials, to which they are now almost wholly restricted throughout the North."

The petition further set forth that growing discrimination against Negroes is a most portentous phase of the entire race situation in this country. In effect, the petition asked for summary justice being enforced for offenses committed by "a vicious element" in the Negro race, but fair dealing toward the better and law-abiding Negro citizens.

¶ The colored people of Atlantic City are elated because the new mayor, Harry Bacharach, has appointed a colored lawyer, I. H. Nutter, as a member of his official cabinet.

¶ The Alabama Reformatory for Negro Boys, founded and for years supported by the colored women of the State, has been formally turned over to the State authorities.

MEETINGS.

There has been unusually widespread celebration of Emancipation Day, January 1, north, south and west.

¶ A meeting of the New York Peace Society was held at the Hotel Astor to hear reports from the First Universal Races Congress.

¶ Governor Stubbs of Kansas made the welcoming speech to the Interstate Literary Association, which met at Wichita.

¶ The Tri-State Medical Association of Colored Physicians meets at Jacksonville this month.

¶ The Negro problem was discussed during convocation week at Washington by Prof. Albert E. Jenks, of the University of Minnesota, before the anthropologists. "Rural conditions in the South" were discussed before the American Economic Association.

¶ Allen Chapel of Kansas City has established shower baths and built a large swimming pool. It also has a handball court and a day nursery.

¶ The colored people of Chicago have leased Mount Glenwood Grove for fifty years. They propose to hold an annual Chautauqua.

¶ Colored lawyers have formed a State Bar Association in North Carolina.

¶ Colored farmers of the Brazos farms, Texas, have organized a trading association by which they pool their cash and trade with the lowest-bidding merchants.

¶ The new League on Urban Condition Among Negroes, recently formed in New York, is maintaining a probation officer in the courts and trying to establish decent places of detention for delinquent colored girls.

¶ The annual dinner of the colored ministers of Washington, D. C., has taken place.

¶ L. A. Headen of New York City has been flying at the Mineola aviation grounds. He has now started south for an exposition tour.

POLITICAL.

President Taft has again indicated his hostility toward Negroes by signing an executive order, providing that in the case of all free rural delivery appointments, three eligibles shall be certified in each instance to the appointing office instead of one, as in the past. This appears to be done for the purpose of preventing colored men who pass the examinations from being appointed.

¶ On account of discrimination against colored civil servants in the general associations, the colored men are proposing to form the National Association of Afro-American Classified Federal Employees.

¶ Milton S. Malone has been appointed postmaster at Hilltop, W. Va. He is the second colored man to hold such a position in the State.

¶ The annual message of Governor Blease of South Carolina contained the following passage:

Negro Lodges.

"I recommend that you pass some act, like the Rucker bill, introduced a few sessions ago, in regard to Negro lodges.

Much annoyance is being caused in various parts of the State by the organization of such lodges. Negroes who commit crimes are given assistance in escaping; money is raised to pay lawyers, if the one charged with a crime is a member of the lodge; therefore, such lodges should be disbanded.

White Persons Teaching Negro Children.

"It is recommended that you pass an act prohibiting any white person from teaching in Negro schools or teaching Negro children. We boast of the fact that we have no social equality in South Carolina, yet white people are teaching in Negro schools, who are associating with the pupils and teaching them that they are as good as white people, and are instilling into their heads ideas of social equality. Not long since a white woman (and a good-looking one) was seen walking on a Negro school ground with one arm around a Negro boy and the other around a Negro girl. What do you expect to be the outcome of this kind of conduct? Stop it, and stop it now.

Notaries Public.

"A proclamation was issued revoking the commission of all notaries public. You passed a new act and since 3,681 have been commissioned. While this has been no hardship to any individual, for any citizen ought to be willing to pay $2 per annum, much less $2 in whole for a notary public commission, by doing this I have made the State $7,473.25; have injured no one, and got rid of all Negro officeholders in the State."

¶ The New Orleans (La.) Item says: "Now comes the charge that black-and-tan Republicans have been allowed to register in the city by the hundreds. Ordinarily the Democrats seek to prevent Negroes from qualifying in the registration office. The charge is made that these Negroes were permitted to register at substations during the last few days.

"It is further reported the Lily White Republican leaders will get together within a few days and take some action relative to the primary they have called for January 24. It is intimated that with the large number of Negro registrations reported the Negroes might be able to outvote the Lily Whites in the January 24 primary. Hence the anxiety, as one Republican put it Saturday night."

THE CHURCH.

The missionaries who are planning "The World in Cincinnati" exposition in that city deemed it advisable to exclude colored people from taking part. This is raising a good deal of discussion in the city. A colored committee called upon the sponsors of the movement and the chairman said that since two-thirds of the missionary work of the world was carried on among colored people, he did not see why the colored churchmen should be excluded from this project. He asked: "Is not the Negro race in the world?"

¶ The Reverend J. C. Roberts, a colored clergyman, has been made Vice-Moderator of the Binghamton, N. Y. and Vicinity Ministerial Association.

¶ A $20,000 colored Catholic church is about to be erected in Milwaukee.

¶ A colored Y. M. C. A. institute has been held at Selma, Ala. Fifty delegates were present.

ART.

The National Association of Musical and Art Clubs had its annual meeting in New York City. Twenty clubs in different sections of the country were presented for membership. Some of the most prominent musicians and art patrons of the race are members of the executive board, of which Mrs. Harriet Gibbs Marshall is president.

¶ Mr. R. Augustus Lawson, pianist, was the chosen soloist at the concert given January 2 by the Hartford Philharmonic Orchestra in Hartford, Conn. His piece was Saint-Saens' "G Minor Concerto," and, according to the reviewers, the pianist made an excellent impression. "It was a brilliant production. The orchestra seemed much inspired and of great sympathy. The soloist was full of broad expression, full of power and grasp; grace

R. AUGUSTUS LAWSON

and beauty of arrangement generally distinguish Saint-Saens' compositions and a certain fine intellectuality which gives them flavor. Mr. Lawson was very successful in making those features apparent and yet he infused a certain sweep and force that lifted the composition into unusual dignity and strength." Mr. Lawson spent last summer abroad, where he had the opportunity of knowing Ossip Gabrilowitsch, the Russian pianist, who has spoken of Mr. Lawson as a highly gifted pianist, and the great master, Leschetizky of Vienna, who mentions the beautiful work of the artist.

¶ Irene L. McCoy, in the Fellowship Herald, mentions the following little-known Negro writers: Mohammed Koti of the 15th Century; Ahmen Baba of the 16th Century and Abderrahman es Sadi of the 17th Century.

¶ "The American Negroes possess what has been called the 'harmonic ear,'" writes Natalie Curtis in the Craftsman. "Though utterly without training, the Negroes improvise alto, tenor and bass parts to their songs with entire ease, and a whole Negro chorus will spontaneously break into harmony of real interest to the musician as well as of beauty.

"In the tobacco factories of the South and in the fields I have heard ignorant Negroes who seemed nearly related to their primitive African progenitors sing four-part harmony of a richness and charm truly amazing."

¶ On December 20 and 21, 1911, the "Messiah" was presented by the University Choral Society of Howard University, Washington, D. C. The soloists were Mrs. Martha B. Anderson, soprano, of Chicago, Ill.; Miss Lulu V. Childers, contralto, of Washington, D. C.; Roland W. Hayes, tenor, of Boston, Mass., and C. C. Clarke, baritone, of New York, N. Y. The accompanist was Miss Maude E. Young.

¶ The Music Study Club, an association of amateur musicians of Springfield, O., has just completed a year's study of "Early Music of All Nations." The program, admirably planned, included "Music of the American Indians" and "Negro Music and Sources."

¶ "Talks of Indian Life," by Edward S. Curtis, author of "The North American Indian," have been made doubly valuable by the introduction of Indian music, by Henry F. Gilbert, who has taken Indian themes and worked them out in musical form. Mr. Gilbert has succeeded in making a permanent record of the Indian songs and melodies.

¶ "The Garden of Allah," dramatized by Mary Anderson and Robert Hichens, is now being presented in New York City. The scene is the Sahara, Arabian women take part as dancers, and Laibi, a colored flute player, has been brought to the United States from Biskra to play in the production.

SCIENCE.

Prof. Berry of London, England, in a recent lecture said that from what we know of man's mental powers, and of what could be done with physical culture, it could be affirmed that man was not deteriorating. Whether the future race was to be the white man was another, and altogether graver, question. Statistics proved indisputably that the white man in England, France, Italy, Australia, and also, but to a much less extent, in Germany, was slowly but surely committing racial suicide. Then would come the day of the yellow man, and the history of the invasion of Europe by Neolithic man would be repeated. Not perhaps in our day, not perhaps even in the day of our grandchildren, but come it would, if indeed the Caucasian inhabitants of Europe, America, Australia and elsewhere did not learn the lessons which anthropology had to teach them.

¶ Sir Harry Johnston in an article in the Contemporary Review says: "We should bear in mind that nowhere in the world exists a pure white race, in whose ancient ancestry there has been no mixture whatever with the Mongol, the Negro, or the Dravidian, and that, perhaps, a white race, which receives no rill of blood from the other human types from time to time may die of physical degeneration. For myself, I seem to see the prospect of great racial developments in Asia by mixture of blood."

¶ Scott Elliott in the "Story of Atlantis" says: "The people of Atlantis were a giant race, many of them towering up ten and twelve feet in height. They were a dark-skinned people, ranging in complexion from that of the Chinese to that of the Negro. They were a progressive warlike people, and the above authors say their descendants are spread all over the earth, from China to Egypt and Mexico, Alaska and Siberia."

CRIME.

The New York Herald reports thirty-five lynchings for 1911; a Washington dispatch reports sixty for the same year and another paper reports seventy-one. As a matter of fact there were without reasonable doubt over one hundred lynchings in the United States last year, not counting lynchings like the burning of the family in Tennessee. Again this year, as in other years, very few of those lynched were charged with attacks on women; eighteen out of the seventy-one is the most reliable report this year.

¶ The nation celebrated Christmas in Christian style by a lynching in Baltimore arising out of a quarrel and murder in a saloon.

¶ Three white men have been arrested for the burning of Benjamin Pettigrew and his two children in Tennessee. Two of them have signed a confession which begins as follows: "To the, Publick, and, the, honer, cort, of, decaturville, Tenn; we was assoated with Mr. J. M. Hill he read the Bible, to us, and, talked to us, about our soles, and, all so Read To Us, in St. Mathews the 10th Chapter, and, the, 26 Verce, that thire was nothing covered but, what would, be uncovered and nothing hid what would, be knowen and, he talked to us about telling, the truth at the blessed Jesues, said that to tell the, truth and, bleave the truth and it would make us, free and we do know that we did a great rong but god has forgive us, as Mr, Hill, had us to go to god and, he has forgive us, and now we with up stretched, ormes, ask the clemences, and mercies, of, the, People, and, the, cort, to do all they cane, for, us, as we, air both maried boyes and, i Georg Shelton aire onley 18 yares, old, and, never, Had, the, chence to go to school and, was raised up by a Good Fother. And, Oh, My, Der, ole, Mother, and my, Wife, and, Little, Baby! If, i Had, Onley, of, Knowen at the start what all this would of, cause, me, i would Not, of, done, it, for, aney amount, of, Money, But, Mr, Lige, Scott, tole, me, to; That ole Ben ort to be, Killed, and, got, out, of, the neighborhood. And John Bailey, is, A Brothernlaw of, George Shelton, and, is, 24, yares, old, and His, Parints, Died, when he was a Little Boy and, he, was raised up heare and, yonder, and, kik from Piller, to Post and, we, Both, have, no, Egacation and, never, relised what a black Path, of, sin we had been travling, till Mr. J. M. Hill, Read, the Bible to us, And, Praid, for, and with us, and, then, we begin to Relise what we had done."

¶ Judge Holt of the United States District Court in New York says that there are approximately 100,000 unhung murderers of the lynching type in the United States and that there has been no time in many years in which crimes of violence have been more ripe than in recent years. With regard to lynching he says: "If, at the outset of an attempt at lynching or of a strikers' mob, half a dozen or a dozen men were arrested for rioting, were tried the next day, and were sent to the penitentiary for a month, or a fortnight, or even for a week, rioting would stop."

¶ At Muldrow, Okla., a Negro was lynched for alleged murder and criminal assault. The judge and prosecuting attorney refused to take any steps.

¶ At Wilmington, Del., six Negroes and one white man convicted of larceny were severely whipped at the public whipping post.

¶ President Taft has commuted the life sentence of two Negroes who have been exonerated from the crime charged against them. They were, however, British subjects and not Americans.

¶ In Kentucky the "first white man" has been sentenced to death for killing a Negro.

¶ In Savannah, Ga., several years ago a white woman was murdered. Several Negroes were immediately arrested. It was afterward proven that the woman's husband committed the crime and the last of the colored men has finally been acquitted.

¶ In Oklahoma three white men with a certain number of hired colored accomplices tried to get rid of two colored children who inherited $250,000 worth of property. The children were blown up by dynamite while they slept. One of the white men was sentenced to life imprisonment and one, a wealthy oil operator, was acquitted. One of the Negroes was imprisoned for life and the third white man and two other Negroes are yet to be tried.

¶ In Topeka, Kan., a colored schoolboy was arrested for throwing paper wads, one of which struck a white girl. Neither the girl nor her parents appeared against the boy, but he was given ninety days in the jail. The real animus back of the case was an attempt to make capital out of it for separation of the races in school.

¶ A very curious case has occurred in New York. The Pullman Car Company has paid Claude R. Lewis $37,500 damages for injuries to his daughter. The story given out is that the daughter was injured by a Pullman porter, but the porter has not been arrested, and there is a suspicion that he is being made the scapegoat for someone else's crimes.

¶ The police court of Savannah, Ga., collected $25,000 in petty fines last year, chiefly from colored people. Many Southern States use this kind of police blackmail as a large source of revenue.

¶ Representative Kendall of Iowa knocked a white man down in Washington recently because the fellow had upset a basket of laundry belonging to an old colored washerwoman.

¶ City Marshal Body of Pavo, Ga., replying to certain Negroes who were protesting illegal arrests, said: "Blow out the brains of Negroes who complain."

COURTS.

The result of the riot and lynching at Newark, O., July 10, 1910, has been thirty convictions and two acquittals. There were twelve cases which were not prosecuted and five went up on error. One person was convicted of murder in the second degree, thirteen for manslaughter, seven for riot and nine for assault and battery. All of which proves that it is dangerous to lynch a white man in Ohio.

¶ The Appellate Court of New York State has sustained the $10,000 verdict secured by William Chinn against the Ferro Construction Company for injuries while at work.

¶ In Richmond, Va., the colored Elks apparently are about to win their right to existence and obtain damages for the injunction secured against them.

¶ The Postmaster-General has decided that postal cards bearing pictures of lynchings are unmailable.

¶ In Georgia a colored boy was convicted of assault with intent to kill. The Court of Appeals in reviewing his case held: "If one whose premises are invaded by a riotous mob, who lay siege to his habitation and continue their rioting, shoots into the mob and wounds one of its members, he does not commit the offense of assault with intent to murder; and this law is applicable, irrespective of any racial differences between the parties."

THE GHETTO.

The Central Y. M. C. A. at St. Louis has been used for a mass meeting to propose a segregation ordinance for St. Louis.

¶ The following letter was sent to the colored dentist who is building a house in a white neighborhood in Denver, Col.: "You have doubtless lived long enough to know that the American people, when aroused, are not to be trifled with, and while I am not predicting violence to either yourself or property, you certainly are aware that either or both might occur.

"Legally you may be right, but in reality you cannot help but know you are wrong, and unless I am very badly mistaken, a particularly brilliant and successful man of your own race, Booker T. Washington, has made it an invariable rule to never intrude where he is not wanted, if he can possibly avoid it.

"Personally, I am only too glad to grant you all the privileges due an American citizen, but I do object to you enjoying those privileges in an exclusively white community."

¶ In Philadelphia Miss Emily Dinwiddie shows that Negroes pay 37 cents per room per month more rent than the Italians, and 33 cents more than the other nationalities. A charity agent says that she finds it most difficult to place a Negro family in a small apartment without paying excessive rent. In houses with furnished rooms Negroes pay from $1 to $3 per month more than whites pay for the same kind of room. Rent is generally a larger item with the poor Negro than with the poor white. The average rent for Negroes per month, when only one family occupied the house, was, according to Miss Dinwiddie, $12.92, while the Italians paid $7.99, and the Jews and others $8.78. When two or more families occupied the house the rent was $7.48 for Negroes, $5.51 for Italians and $5.18 for Jews.

¶ At Paris, Tex., one Negro letter carrier resigned after one day's work, because few persons in Paris would accept United States mail from his hands. He was succeeded by another Negro—the next available on the eligible list for the place. Hundreds of letters were received by Postmaster Dickerson protesting against mail being delivered by a Negro carrier.

¶ Southern Congressmen are again suggesting "Jim Crow" legislation for the District of Columbia, and it is said that legislation for excluding all Asiatic races is being strongly urged.

¶ In St. Paul, Minn., the Great Northern Express Company employed a young colored student of the University of Minnesota during the holiday rush. He was, among other things, required to take valuable packages and check them in with the other express companies. The checking clerk of the Adams Express Company refused to wait on the boy because he was colored. The local manager of the Adams Express Company, when complained to, justified the discrimination.

¶ Dr. W. J. Thompkins of Kansas City, who has been suing the M. K. & T. Railroad for ejecting him from a Pullman berth, has lost his case in the lower court. He proposes to appeal it.

¶ The Great Northern Railway Company has just sent to its employees the following rule concerning migration to Canada:

570—People of the Chinese race must not be ticketed to any point in Canada or Cuba, or to a point in the United States via a route passing through Canada.

Foreigners will not be admitted into Canada except when en route direct from their own country, unless in the meantime they have become naturalized citizens of the United States, and in no event will they be admitted unless they have $25 per capita in hand. Colored people will not be admitted under any circumstances.

ALEXANDER WALTERS

The presentation of a loving cup to Dr. Alexander Walters, bishop of the A. M. E. Zion Church, which took

BISHOP ALEXANDER WALTERS

place recently in Washington, D. C., was a graceful tribute to an energetic man. Bishop Walters was born in Kentucky in 1858; he received a common school training, became a pastor in 1877 and was elected bishop in 1892. Bishop Walters has become well known as one of the radical leaders of the colored people; he was long president of the Afro-American Council and is a vice-president and director of the N. A. A. C. P. In the last presidential campaign he supported the Democratic ticket and has since preached political independence to the Negroes. In the coming campaign he may be expected to take a prominent part. Outside his own church he has occupied many positions of honor and trust in religious circles, and is a genial, earnest man.

MELVILLE CHARLTON.

The recent appointment of Melville Charlton as one of the organists at Union Theological Seminary calls the attention of the public to the work of this young man of 28. Charlton was born in New York, was educated in the public schools and took a year in the College of the City of New York. He then turned to the study of music and won a five year scholarship at the National Conservatory of Music. After serving some years as assistant organist at St. Phillip's, he served in a similar position at the Religious School of Temple Emanu-El, the richest synagogue in America. Schirmer has just brought out Mr. Charlton's first published composition, and The Musical Courier calls him "a young musician of promising talent."

CAPTAIN CHARLES YOUNG, U. S. A.

Captain Charles Young, whose picture is on our cover, was born in Kentucky in 1868. He was appointed to West Point Military Academy from Ohio in 1885, and was graduated as a lieutenant in the army in 1889. He has served with the 7th, 9th and 10th Cavalry and 25th Infantry. During the Spanish War he was major of an Ohio battalion. Afterward he was detailed to duty as acting superintendent of the Sequoia and Grant National Parks in California, where his "interest and ability" were especially commended in formal resolu-

MELVILLE CHARLTON

tions by the Board of Trade of Visalia, which declared that "by his energy and enthusiasm and business qualities displayed, the money set aside for improvements of the parks was most wisely and economically expended."

In 1904 Captain Young was sent to Hayti, and thence twice to the Philippines. In the absence of the colonel he reviewed the regiment—the first occurrence of the kind in the history of the United States army. On several other occasions he had command of the regiment.

Captain Young is now being examined at Fort Riley for his majority and is detailed to go as United States military attaché in Liberia. He is married and has two children.

The other colored officers in the army are as follows: Lieutenant-Colonel Allen Allensworth (retired); Major Jno. R. Lynch (retired); Major Wm. T. Anderson (retired); Captain Geo. W. Priolean, Captain Theophilius G. Steward (retired); First Lieutenant Benj. O. Davis; First Lieutenant John E. Green; First Lieutenant W. W. E. Gladden; First Lieutenant Oscar J. W. Scott; First Lieutenant Louis A. Carter.

CHARITY ABROAD.

Politicians may be, indeed, are sometimes said to be, deficient in humor, and the recent debates in Congress over the abrogation of the treaty with Russia seem to bear out this statement. That Jewish-American citizens should have full rights in Russia and that the Czar's atrocities should call forth the indignant protest of every decent-minded citizen goes without saying, but it is difficult to see how our honorable legislative body preserved a straight face over the fervent declarations, especially impassionated from Southern representatives that discrimination because of race is un-American and not to be tolerated. In a widely quoted speech by Senator Root, for example, we find him saying that perhaps the demand that Jewish-American citizens be admitted to Russia may result in the exclusion of all Americans. "That," he says, "in some respects would be unfortunate, but, Mr. President, it would be better than the present. It is better that there should not be any discrimination which constitutes two sharply separated classes of our citizens. I would rather have one great body of American citizens who have no right to enter a foreign land than to have two bodies of American citizens, one of which has the right under our treaties to enter and the other of which has no right."

The New York Evening Post, which alone of all the white newspapers sees the humor of the situation, observes: "It is encouraging to note that all the Southern representatives voted strongly against anything like 'discriminating between American citizens on the ground of race'—in Russia. The Senate resolutions introduced by Senator Culberson of Texas recites broadly that 'the people of the United States assert as a fundamental principle that the rights of its citizens shall not be impaired at home or abroad because of race.' This is good news for the Negroes of the South, for, of course, Southern leaders would not attempt to do more for the handful of American Jews who wish to travel in Russia than they would for millions of American citizens in their own land."

The Macon (Ga.) Telegraph objects to these remarks as "sarcastic" and besides, it says, bringing its scientific learning to the front, the Post "misses the point," which is this: "The persecution of the Jews in Russia is religious rather than racial, and in any case 'nationality' rather than 'race' is the more proper term to be employed in this connection. The Russians and Jews belong to the same grand division of humanity and in the larger sense are really of the same race of men. White men and Negroes, on the other hand, belong to two of the four or five totally distinct grand divisions of the human species."

The Telegraph does not go farther, we regret to say, and point out at just what distance of relationship one has the right to insult, oppress and lynch.

Little is said on this head in the white press, but the Rev. Theodosius S. Tyng sums up the situation in a ringing letter to the Boston Herald on the necessity of clean hands and a clear head. "That Jews are ill-treated in Russia," he says, "that American citizens are unjustly discriminated

against and that these things ought to end is indisputable. But there are two objections against our present method of attempting to end them.

"The first is that we do not come with clean hands. We discriminate against our own citizens. In the South we have 'Jim Crow' cars and 'grandfather clauses' aimed against the Negro. In the North we have worse, a shutting out of Negroes by popular prejudice from all but a few occupations, thus denying them opportunity to show whether they are our inferiors or not. We discriminate also (and with equal blindness) against foreigners. We exhaust the resources of diplomacy to keep out of our country laborers from Japan, whose people are not inferior in natural endowment to any other, and from which it would be pretty safe to say that no illiterate ever came to this country.

"A clear head is also desirable in dealing with international difficulties. But what is chiefly revealed in this precipitate and tumultuous denunciation of the treaty with Russia is a feeling that any stick will do to beat a dog, and that indignant virtue is too virtuous and too indignant to consider what head is going to be hit by the stick, our own or the other, or perhaps various others."

The papers run by colored people, of course, draw the deadly parallel: "There are no two nations that are so much alike as America and Russia on race antipathy," says the St. Louis Advance. "The Russian districts and segregates the Jew, and, at times, officially slaughters him; the American alleges the most hideous crimes against the Negro, none proved by his own established tribunals, arrests, disarms, imprisons him and calls forth whole communities to see the black helpless victim scorched, burned, riddled with bullets or vivisected and mutilated to suit the bloody cravings of a savage mob. America places herself in a very inconsistent attitude when she demands that Russia cease proscribing the Jew when she is practicing wholesale proscription upon her own native citizens—the Negro—in the United States."

The Cincinnati Union heartily approves the course of the President and adds: "The question now uppermost in the minds of all American colored people is: Why does our great President not use similar haste and courage in demanding that ten millions of his subjects should receive fair treatment here at home; that they no longer be mobbed, slaughtered and burnt almost within sound and sight of the White House?

"Why?"

A SOUTHERNER'S PROTEST.

The Daily Observer of Charlotte, N. C., is one of the Southern papers which occasionally fights for justice for the colored man. Our association sent the editor of the Observer one of our anti-lynching circulars containing, in addition to various facts about this crime, the two pictures which appeared in "The Burden" of the January CRISIS. In reply we received a letter expressing the editor's indignation at the awful story and enclosing an editorial suggested by the circular. We quote it at length:

"Lynching is the greatest evil from which this country has suffered. It is a reproach to the nation, and particularly to the people of the South, where the mob has so often wreaked its fearful vengeance upon its victims, not always for the commission of the 'unpardonable crime,' but for offences of lesser magnitude, offences for which the death penalty is not required by any civilized country in the world. During the last six months in the United States fifty-one men have been put to death by lynching. A great many of them, we have not the least doubt, were guilty of the most horrible crime of which the world knows anything, but many of them doubtless were not worthy of death and none of them should have been put to death without due process of law. In the last twenty-six years 2,458 Negroes have been lynched in the United States, and not one of the men taking part in these lynchings has been punished, and few of them, although they must have been well known in the community where they committed their crimes, have ever been summoned by the law to give an account of their violation of the law.

"We write long essays about the cruelty of the people in foreign countries; we are shocked at the barbarity of the Italians in Tripoli; we say long prayers in our churches and synagogues praising ourselves to the Almighty; but we do nothing to stop the fearful enormities of Judge Lynch and his crowd. This thing cannot go on forever; it should not have gone on at all, and particularly in the South, where white people are now absolutely in control of all the machinery of the law; where they select the juries and judges and prosecutors; where they alone are responsible for the execution of the law; and it is to our everlasting shame and reproach that in any of the Southern States there should be the lynching of any human being, whatever the color of his skin or the enormity of his crime. We need not concern ourselves about the occasional lynchings in Pennsylvania, Delaware, Indiana, Illinois and Ohio and in the far Western States; our responsibility

is for the crimes committed within our own borders and by our own people.

"In a circular just issued, we suppose by the Anti-Lynching League of New York [National Association for the Advancement of Colored People], two pictures are given of typical lynchings; one in Oklahoma and the other that is not fully identified, but it is gruesome enough in its appearance to excite the indignation of any man of right feeling. This circular contains quite a number of extracts from newspapers commenting upon the lynching evil and quotes the statement of Governor Blease, of South Carolina, about the Honea Path horror, that rather than use the power of his office to prevent the white men from punishing the Negro at Honea Path, he 'would have resigned his office and gone to Honea Path and led the mob.'

"That was a horrible thing for the governor of any civilized State to say. Another great man in this country, the same being Theodore Roosevelt, former President of the United States, in a recent article in the Outlook, of which he is contributing editor, made this weak and pitiful plea for the mob: 'Dreadful though it is for the mob spirit to be aroused in the community by such a crime, it would be even worse if the community did not feel the fury of indignation which produces the mob spirit.' This is encouraging the mob spirit and this is the sort of namby-pamby talk that has encouraged the 'fury of indignation' which has made the mob possible in this civilized land. With Governor Blease, in South Carolina, in sympathy with the mob, and with Colonel Roosevelt, in New York, excusing the mob spirit on the ground that it is produced by the 'fury of indignation,' we must impress the law-abiding people of the United States as to one of the elements from which we must free ourselves if the law is to be respected and its violation is to be punished."

LYNCHING.

A curious misstatement is going the rounds of the press which places the lynchings of last year at thirty-five. THE CRISIS has record of twice as many as that, and we do not pretend to have collected the full number. Several papers comment on the figures. "We would like to believe," says the Chattanooga Times, "that the decrease is due to an appreciable advance in sentiment for the 'due course of law,' and in some communities we are justified in reaching such a conclusion. But there are occasions not of infrequent occurrence that present the discouraging evidences of the same old savage sentiment which, in circumstances of peculiar or extraordinary excitement, may be expected to exhibit itself, especially where there is a weak or vacillating constabulary."

The Louisville Courier-Journal suggests that more can be done to lower the figures. "As a cure for lynching an ounce of prevention, such as a removal law furnishes, is worth a pound of prosecution. The Kentucky legislature is in session. The Courier-Journal invites its attention to the opportunity to do a signal service to the State and to proclaim to the world a desire to see lynching put down and the State and county payrolls relieved of the incumbrance of peace officers who are cowards or sympathizers with hoodlumism. To the short sighted who believe in lynching in cases of assault it may be of interest to know that of the thirty-five lynchings in America in 1911 only eleven were for alleged crimes against women."

The Boston Herald, in a long editorial on the general subject, says: "Persons who do not take the usual attitude of the South toward the Negro are promptly set down as 'not understanding the race question.' An attempt is thus made to estop any Northerner from expressing an opinion. Nor are the skirts of the Northerners much clearer of this horror. The recent affair in Coatesville, Pa., following a long line of similar outrages, including a very atrocious affair a few years ago in Springfield, Ill., raises the question whether in proportion to population the North is really entitled to preach to the South at all of the evils of lynching.

"And still the horror persists, wherever the dishonor lies. New and dramatic ways of wreaking vengeance against Negro suspects are of almost daily report. It has taken many centuries to evolve from primitive barbarism a government of law; from that we are now suffering in this country a very serious relapse. To suppose that the unfortunate black will long remain the only victim of it, even were they so to-day, would be a very serious mistake. The whole ghastly homicidal record is serving as a text book to the millions of natives of Southern Europe and Western Asia who are to-day pouring into this country. They are not wholly to be blamed for inferring that violence is the American way."

SOME LABOR COMPLAINTS.

When a hurricane not long ago destroyed much property on Sea Island, S. C., a fund was raised for the sufferers. The colored men who lost their all in that disaster have received little or no help, and it is openly said that they will not, because white planters on the mainland wish to hire these destitute laborers on their own terms. A long controversy has been going on in the

Charleston News and Courier on the disinclination of the colored people to work, but a colored newspaper, the Charleston Messenger, asks what is meant by "work":

"A man connected with the government went down to inspect the damages and gave a fair and straightforward report of the disaster. Shortly afterward, a few men here and there who had planted considerable cotton and a mill here and there which needed fifty or a hundred hands, published their needs. Then came a statement that the suffering people could get work. The man who attempts to make a thousand people suffer for the sake of getting one or two hundred to go a hundred miles away from home without anything but a promise is a dangerous citizen to any community. There are two sides to every picture."

The Messenger thinks that if the farmers guaranteed the fare from Sea Island and a living wage while the men were on the plantations, there would be no difficulty in getting laborers. Then the editor makes this comment on the general situation: "The long communication from Clarendon County, almost two columns on Monday, attempting to destroy the Negro, put up one of the best defenses for him we have ever read, and it is that article that has interested us more in this matter. We have been believing that the Negro was really guilty of not working as he should, but since that article we stand ready to congratulate the Negro for the progress he has made on the farm and we are a little surprised that the News and Courier hasn't done so, too, before now.

"When a white man, a farmer of broad experience, tells the public that the Negroes in South Carolina are planting more acres of land than the white man, and that many of the Negroes last year made only one bale of cotton and that the same Negroes this year have made four and five bales, and have made themselves so independent that they are not in a hurry to pick it out so as to help the white man pick his out, he is making no argument against the Negro not wanting to work. Upon this we rest our case for the Negro and ask the News and Courier, the Florence Times and all those who are complaining about the Negro not working to explain this paradox."

WHITE AND BLACK TEACHERS.

On December 26 a gift of half a million dollars to the Peabody College for Teachers, at Nashville, was announced in connection with the final distribution of the great Peabody fund. The New York Evening Post says that this gift will insure a magnificent and well-endowed school for white teachers which should quicken the whole public-school system of the South. "What is needed next is a similar school for colored teachers, and the want and opportunity are so great that it is hard to see how some of our great philanthropists can have overlooked it. There are those in the South who criticise the educated Negroes. But how few the latter are! And as for the teachers, no one who has not come face to face with a group of Negro rural school teachers can have any real idea of their unfitness for their work. Being themselves graduates of crossroad one-teacher schools, few if any are masters of the English language. The summer schools for teachers, wherever held, are attended by eager men and women whose lamentable deficiency is not offset by their thirst for learning or by their desire to be of service upon most meagre wages. But the great gifts for education in the South are latterly flowing largely in the direction of the whites.

"In this connection it is interesting to note that the initial gifts of the trustees of the Phelps-Stokes fund established by the will of the late Miss Caroline Phelps Stokes have gone to the Universities of Virginia and Georgia. They have donated $12,500 for a fellowship in each of those institutions, the holders thereof to make a scientific and also practical study 'of the Negro and of his adjustments to American civilization.' While some of the educated colored people will feel like endowing scholarships elsewhere for the scientific study of the white and of his failure to adjust himself to American civilization by lynchings from Coatesville to the Gulf and his persistent nullification of the Constitution in regard to suffrage, the experts will all agree that these gifts are usefully bestowed. The South does need to approach this problem—and the North as well—in a purely scientific spirit. Here is primarily a great governmental question, for half or more of the bitterness of the situation would disappear if law and order were maintained and absolute justice applied in the courts to both races. The Negro has nothing to fear from the bringing out of the truth about his generally law-abiding character and his marvelous rise in fifty years, which no less a person than Colonel Henry Watterson has declared to be without an historical parallel."

¶ The Survey, published by the Associated Charities of New York, brought together in a recent number some opinions on the meaning of the McNamara case. We quote a few paragraphs from the contribution of Mrs. Florence Kelley of the Consumers' League, who is a member of our association's executive committee and one of our ablest and most willing speakers.

"No light can be shed on the present situation," says Mrs. Kelley, "by treating it as an isolated episode. It is an integral part of the whole texture of our national life, and any constructive action in regard to it must, in order to serve a helpful purpose, be based on recognition of this fact. In a modern industrial democracy the only preventive of violence is justice—political, social, industrial. As a people we do not practice justice and we pay the penalty in recurring violence in diverse forms.

"In all of our States except six, women are disfranchised; and Negroes are disfranchised increasingly in recent years, in law and in fact. Accompaniments of this injustice are white slavery, lynch law and peonage—three horrifying forms of violence incidental to our national life.

"If women, Negroes and alien immigrants were safeguarded in their human rights; if the owners of the Asch Building and every employer, the doors of whose workrooms are locked, paid (in money, not with their lives) for the men and women burned in their buildings; if the miners now entombed—death by entombment is death by violence—had been made safe in life and limb by their employers under laws established by a just people; if lynchers found certain retribution; if no white slavers were pardoned by the President in the rare cases in which they are convicted; if justice prevailed in our daily life—the outcry and the surprise at the action of the McNamaras might be explained rationally.

"The real cause for surprise, the root of the evil, is the infinite, supine, dogged resignation of the masses of working people under prevailing injustice."

¶ The following encouraging editorial we reprint from the Roanoke (Va.) Times: "In the acquittal of the Negroes accused of the murder of the Stuarts in Buckingham County there is another triumph of Virginia justice; and a triumph over local prejudice and, possibly, some local cupidity. The Stuarts were brothers, supposed to be misers, living together in a rather lonely house. They were found dead, their bodies partly consumed in the ruins of their home. Evidently murder, arson and robbery had been committed. Two or three Negroes were arrested accused of the crimes. The strongest evidence against them was by members of their own race. One colored boy said he was an eyewitness. The accused were convicted and sentenced to die. They appealed and the Supreme Court gave them a new trial. They secured change of venue to Richmond and a jury of white men of that city acquitted them. The evidence was direct, but obviously untrustworthy. The defence was conducted by J. L. Lee, of Lynchburg; and in our opinion no lawyer ever has given a better illustration of the lawyer's highest functions and duties than he did in this case. He gave all the power of his mind and learning and much of his time—and he is a high-priced lawyer—to defending through three hard trials and representing in the highest court poor and obscure people."

¶ The Dallas Express has heard a report that 150 white university men are making a study of the Southern Negro and that "Negro Life in the South," a book written by Dr. Weatherford, is to be taken as a basis of the research. "That's queer," comments this paper, "the Dallas Express would recommend a better basis—that basis is the Negro himself. As a beginning of the research we recommend that the 150 university men put in about a year of prayerful study on themselves and another year on their own race, for it is a lamentable fact that the vast majority of Southern white men have never yet believed a single word they ever heard of the common fatherhood of God and the universal brotherhood of man. Until a man can believe this doctrine little importance need attach to his observations of the Negro, or, as for that matter, anybody else."

¶ The St. Louis Mirror, a single-tax paper, commenting on the refusal of the Chicago single-tax conference to draw the color line at their banquet, says: "The single-tax philosophy is for all men, for a man's chance for every man, white or black or yellow or brown. That philosophy recognizes that the color issue is largely the white man's growing fear that the colored man will get his job. That philosophy would free the earth so that there would be jobs for all men and some jobs left over."

¶ From a Richmond paper comes this contribution to the gaiety of nations in the form of a letter from a lady of an aristocratic turn of mind: "No daughter of the Confederacy will be a suffragette. No veteran will permit female Negro suffrage—if it brings on another war. For when the cook comes to the meeting and puts on her bonnet quick, and goes to the polls and votes for Dr. Washington as President of the United States, or 'you gets another cook,' the women will be in the saddle with saber and pistol galore."

¶ The conviction of one of the men who lynched Carl Etherington in Newark, Ohio, has called forth some comment as proof that the country still upholds justice in spite of Coatesville. The Chicago Tribune alone puts its finger on the significant fact. "It must be noted," it says, "that in Ohio the victim was white; in Pennsylvania he was black."

I have been rather fascinated by the poetic dream of the supremacy of Africa to institute the reign of peace when the conquering race of the Anglo-Saxons is ended.

—*FREDERIC HARRISON.*

LIGHT.

WHEN the trustees of the Phelps-Stokes fund gave two Southern universities $12,500 each to endow a fellowship for the study of the Negro they did well. For many decades there has been a venerable tradition that the South "knows" the Negro better than others. Gradually, however, it is dawning even on the white South that there is nothing in mere physical distance half so separating as the artificial social, economic and racial barriers erected in the South since the war, and that the ignorance of the white South as to the life, hurts and dreams of the darker half of their world is, in some respects, both phenomenal and disgraceful. Take, for instance, this letter from a Southern woman who has read THE CRISIS:

"The Negro is a child, incompetent to right his own wrongs, but wonderfully susceptible to inspirational teaching. As a race he has a childlike conceit and thoroughly enjoys being 'in the limelight.' He has the untutored's love of the morbid, revels in the sensational, and under praise wisely administered gives forth his best efforts. Some of the crime committed by the Negro is undoubtedly due to the desire to attract public attention. 'If fame cannot be won, infamy can,' is the subconscious conclusion of some Negro criminals—as it is with some white criminals. It seems to me that the best and most practical philanthropy that can be performed for the race is to cease discussing him as a problem and consider him as a child whose future career is to be shaped and molded by wise disciplinary educational methods."

Consider for a moment this extraordinary judgment: "The Negro" and "A Child!" Ten million people tossed nonchalantly into one mold with one estimate, one final and eternal judgment. One could not find ten million dogs, much less ten million men, whom one definition would fit.

The difficulty is, of course, that this honest woman knows and can know but one or few types of Negro. Her observation is confined to her kitchen, the almshouse and the chances of the street. Of the black man as a man, of the black woman as a woman, she has almost no experience, and by grace of the color line can have no experience. Her ignorance is all the greater because it is not known to be ignorance, but parades as deep and subtle knowledge. The world-old phenomenon of the childishness, laziness and criminality of the ignorant and oppressed becomes in her blindness purely a racial, a "Negro" trait. If the gift to the University of Virginia will do something to shake the appalling confidence of such wild judgments the money will be well spent.

Of course, the scientific result will be small. For many years these young students will record not the observed facts, but their preconceived prejudices. This is inevitable with persons who start despising and not revering human souls simply because of their humanity. Gradually, however, truth will triumph. Gradually

it will not be possible to assert unchallenged in the University of Georgia that "niggers are lazy." It will be explained by some perverse person that this laziness has somehow accumulated a thousand millions in fifty years—although, of course, those who did this are "exceptions." In time this center of learning will cease to talk of "the" Negro and begin to talk of men—some rich, some poor; some good, some bad; some undeveloped "children" and some children of the Kingdom of God.

THE GALL OF BITTERNESS.

MANY people object to the policy of THE CRISIS because, as they usually put it, THE CRISIS is "bitter." Some add that our news is depressing or that we are determined to look on the dark side, and so forth.

It may be acknowledged at the outset that THE CRISIS does not try to be funny. Not that we object to fun: our office is a cheerful place, with bits of sunshine and eager young lives and high joyful purpose. But our stock in trade is not jokes. We are in earnest. This is a newspaper. It tries to tell the Truth. It will not consciously exaggerate in any way, but its whole reason for being is the revelation of the facts of racial antagonism now in the world, and these facts are not humorous.

True it is that this country has had its appetite for facts on the Negro problem spoiled by sweets. In earlier days the Negro minstrel who "jumped Jim Crow" was the typical black man served up to the national taste. It was the balmy day when slaves were "happy" and "preferred" slavery to all other possible states. Then came the sobering of abolition days and war, when for one horrified moment the world gazed on the hell of slavery and knew it for what it was.

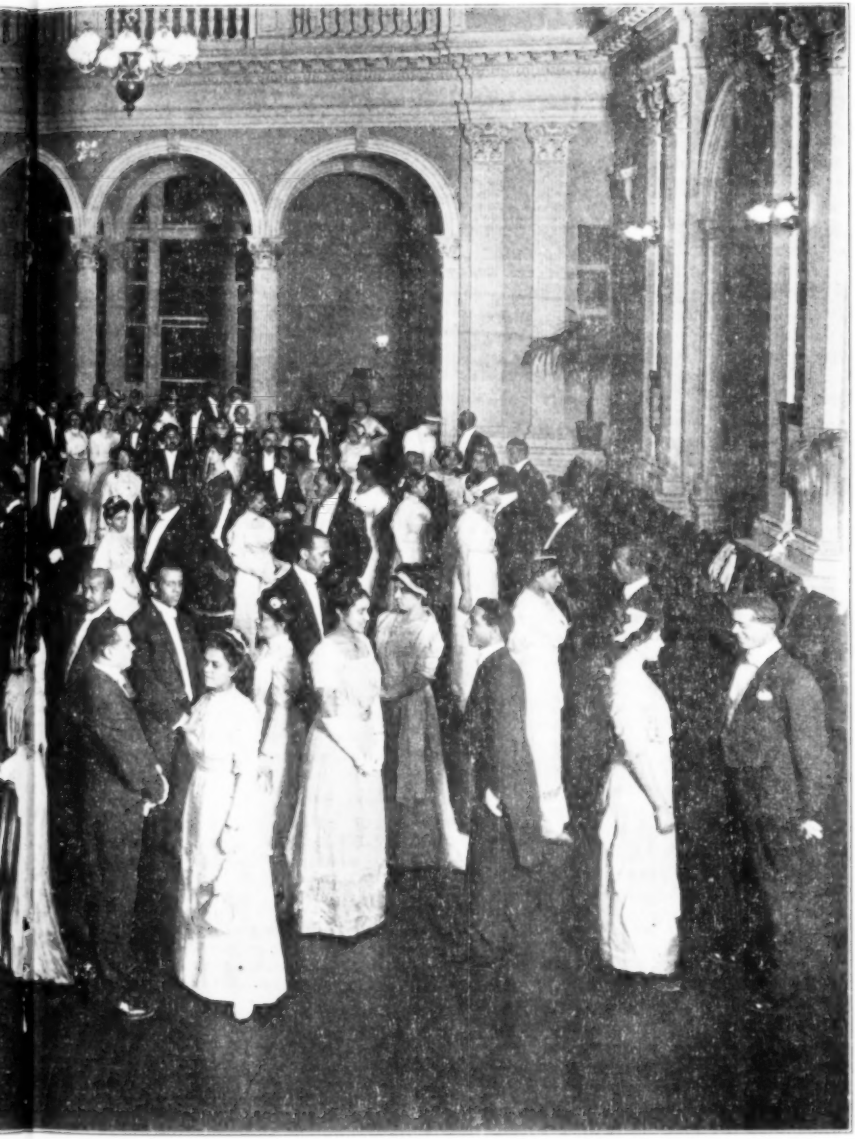
In the last fifteen years there has come another campaign of Joy and Laughter to degrade black folk. We have been told that all was well or if aught was wrong the wrong was with the colored man. We have had audiences entertained with "nigger" stories, tales of pianos in cabins, and of the general shiftlessness of the freedman, and concerted effort to make it appear that the wrongs of color prejudice are but incidental and trivial, while the shortcomings of black men are stupendous, if not fatal.

This is the lie which THE CRISIS is here to refute. It is a lie, a miserable and shameful lie, which some black men have helped the white South to spread and been well paid for their pains.

It is not easy to impress the real truth after this debauch of defamation, but we must try. In so trying we realize that the mere statement of the facts does not always carry its message. Often the lighter touch, the insinuation and the passing reference are much more effective. We know this, and yet so often the grim awfulness of the bare truth is so insistent we feel it our duty to state it. Take those stark and awful corpses, men murdered by lynch law, in last month's issue: it was a gruesome thing to publish, and yet—could the tale have been told otherwise? Can the nation otherwise awaken to the enormity of this beastly crime of crimes, this rape of law and decency? Could a neat joke or a light allusion make this nation realize what 2,500 murders such as these look like?

We trust that the Gall of Bitterness will not spoil the pages of THE CRISIS or make its readers to shudder at ill-timed frankness. But God forbid that mere considerations of pleasantry and sweetness should ever make us withhold insistence, in season and out, upon that which a Southern white correspondent of ours calls "the barbarous treatment accorded an unfortunate people by the strong and arrogant Caucasian. When Truth shall have come into her own, through the medium of education, the color line will be swept into oblivion of a dark and disgraceful past. Men will shudder at the deeds of their fathers, even as we shudder at the horrors of the Inquisition."

THE SOCIAL LIFE OF COLORED AMERICA:



I.—THE MIDWINTER ASSEMBLY
Baltimore, Md.

THE DURBAR.

THE greatest concession wrung from an arrogant modern nation by a dark-skinned people has just been gained by the Indians from the English. The Durbar was not simply a ceremonial—it was a concession. For a long time England has been trying to conciliate India by social deference to her princes. Few of the great drawing rooms of London have not been graced in recent years by these Eastern potentates, and every public honor has been shown them. All this is an old method with rulers. Even with the American Negro the experiment is continually tried locally and nationally of extravagantly honoring leaders who can be depended on to do the tyrant's will unquestioningly.

The rank and file, however, soon learn to discriminate between such empty honors and the real good of the people. Ground down by ignorance and poverty, India demands education and political autonomy. Oppressed by color prejudice they demand the treatment of men.

The Durbar brought concessions in all these lines. Its political significance lay in the actual crowning of an English monarch in India. No longer is George V a foreign monarch ruling this land beyond the sea—he is an emperor crowned on Indian soil; moreover, his capital will be hereafter the ancient Indian capital of Delhi, and not the more English Calcutta, where a fierce native agitation has opened the eyes of England to the determination of young India to be free.

The Durbar marked the establishment of the first great fund for popular education in India, and finally it brought one curious concession, a concession which England must have been almost ashamed to announce: hereafter the Victoria Cross for bravery on the field of battle will be given to brown men as well as white! Thus ends a discrimination almost as disgraceful as the discrimination against colored candidates for Rhodes scholarships in the Southern United States.

How have these concessions been secured? By agitation—persistent and long-continued agitation, by unrest and protest which is not yet satisfied, and will not be until India is a free autonomous nation.

CHINA.

TO most folk the wonder of the Chinese revolution is not in the revolution but in the fact that Chinamen show themselves so human. There was a time when everything bizarre, curious and topsyturvy was quite as a matter of course attributed to China. When it came to rational modern thought we calmly omitted China. Histories of the world omitted China; if a Chinaman invented compass or movable type or gunpowder we promptly "forgot it" and named only their European inventors. In short, we regarded China as a sort of different and quite inconsequential planet.

Suddenly now China looms as a modern nation seeking in the bloodlust of revolution the freedom to think and be. Shall we welcome Chinese rebirth with salvos of applause? Why—er—yes; yes, of course; but say, look here: what kind of a world is this going to be, full of civilized Japs, Chinks, dagoes and darkies? Isn't it high time for Desperate Desmond Hobson to wind his golden trumpet and hail us to war for the salvation of "white" civilization?

Soberly, is not the world face to face with an enlarged, broadened, endless "race" and "color" problem, and what are those folk to do who cannot conceive a world where black, brown and white are free and equal?

It also appears to me that when prejudices persist obstinately it is the fault of nobody so much as those who make a point of proclaiming them insuperable as an excuse for never joining in an attempt to remove them. Any prejudice whatever will be insurmountable if those who do not share in it themselves truckle to it and flatter it and accept it as a law of nature.

—JOHN STUART MILL.

FIRST ANNUAL MEETING OF THE CORPORATION.

The first annual meeting of the corporation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People took place in the rooms of the association in the New York Evening Post Building, New York, on January 4. There were about seventy-five members present. Reports of the officers were read and a full board of directors elected. Supper was served at six and in the evening Richard Brown, the young protégé of the association, exhibited some of his remarkable water colors.

Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard, chairman of the executive committee, began with a general report of the activities of the association, which was in part as follows:

The third annual conference was held in Boston March 30 and 31. The sessions were interesting and attracted many warm adherents to the association. A Boston branch was formed.

The fourth annual conference will be held in Chicago this spring. Miss Jane Addams, Miss S. P. Breckinridge and Dr. C. E. Bentley are among the prime movers.

The legal aid work of the association has received special attention. In the cases of Williams and Graham in New Jersey the defendants were acquitted of false charges of murder. Boys accused of crime have been helped to secure lighter sentences in Arkansas and Delaware, and several cases are pending.

Local civil-rights defense has been undertaken by the New York Vigilance Committee, our local branch, under Mr. J. E. Spingarn and Mr. Gilchrist Stewart.

A campaign against the lynching that has specially marked the year 1911 has been inaugurated. After each of these terrible occurrences the association has, through its officers, sent letters to the governors of the States demanding the punishment of the guilty. The governors of Kentucky, Florida, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania and Georgia have been written to, not only by the association but by many individuals.

A meeting was held on November 15 to protest against lynching. At no time has the association realized more clearly the need of awakening public sentiment against murderous lawlessness than when making arrangements for this meeting. One leading conservative after another declined to speak. Then the association turned to its own members and splendid addresses were made, well reported by the press.

At this meeting a collection was taken to be the beginning of a fund to investigate lynching. This investigation has been inaugurated at Coatesville, Pa.

The Wendell Phillips centenary was celebrated in Boston, where Judge Wendell Phillips Stafford spoke, and in Brooklyn, where Charles Edward Russell and Dr. R. V. Ransom were the chief speakers.

Thus far the association has endeavored to keep clearly before it two things—constant propaganda and legal work. Propaganda takes place through the publication of THE CRISIS, the holding of public meetings, the furnishing of speakers for various organizations, the writing of letters of explanation and protest. This work could and should be almost indefinitely extended.

To sum up, the association has now reached a point where it is a recognized body with a growing reputation, and the possibility of work of prodigious importance. It must, however, receive the earnest, serious support of its membership. It must realize that in asking for money, it must secure large sums as well as small; in short, recognize that if it is to live and work it must operate, not on a basis of $7,000 a year, but of $20,000. It must be housed in offices in which it is possible to do correct and painstaking work and it must have a larger staff of salaried workers. It must have these things or it will fail at the moment of achievement. It has against it an immense mass of public opinion, backed by inexhaustible resources. To fight successfully, its members, those who believe in its work, must furnish it with greater power.

¶ The Director of Publicity and Research reported that THE CRISIS had a circulation of 16,000 and employed 250 agents. Since the beginning 150,000 copies have been printed, and the publication is rapidly becoming self-supporting, although started a year ago without a cent of capital.

Through the lecture bureau the director has in sixteen months addressed ninety-nine audiences, aggregating about 35,000 persons. Of these audiences, fifty-three were composed mainly of colored persons, and forty-six audiences mainly of white. Among those addressed have been twenty-six churches, twenty-six public meetings, fifteen schools and colleges, ten clubs, seven lecture courses, six social settlements, three workingmen's clubs, two reformatories and two learned societies. Thirty-five of the addresses were given in New York and vicinity, nineteen in the East, twenty-four in the West, ten in the South and eleven in England in connection with the Races Congress.

Among the publications issued by the director are one book, four pamphlets, eight magazine articles and several newspaper articles.

¶ The report of the treasurer for eight months, May 1 to December 31, 1911, was as follows:

Receipts (cents omitted):	
THE CRISIS	$5,208
Memberships	1,206
Special contributions, etc.	3,357
	$9,771
Expenditures (cents omitted):	
THE CRISIS	$5,138
Salaries	2,587
Office expense, travel, investigation, etc.	837
	$8,562
Proposed budget for 1912 (omitting THE CRISIS):	
Salaries	$5,000
Office expense	2,000
Legal bureau	5,000
Travel, investigation and other expenses	2,000
	$14,000

¶ Mr. William M. Wherry, Jr., reported on the organization of the legal bureau. There are in hand now five cases: A case of unjustifiable shooting by a New York policeman, a case of alleged criminal libel, the Coatesville investigation, a case of discrimination in wages and the dynamiting outrages in Kansas. Mr. Wherry recommended that the legal bureau, first, investigate all cases by sending a special representative; secondly, form a legal committee of both lawyers and laymen to whom all facts shall be referred, who will determine the advisability of taking up the cases and lay down a general policy.

"Your society requires in regard to these cases two distinct classes of service: First, service which a lawyer ordinarily performs for a client; namely, an investigation of the facts and a determination of the rights and of the best course, from a legal point of view, to enforce or protect these rights. But more important, perhaps, than this service is the service of determining what cases should be handled by the society at all in view of the larger question mentioned above which is pressing for solution.

"In my opinion, and it seemed to be concurred in by those of us present at the conference of the 20th, you will not be able to get efficient information in regard to the facts in a case without paying something for it, and this determination of handling of the cases should be separated from the determination of what cases to handle. I therefore propose the following organization for your legal work:

"A legal committee to be made up not necessarily of lawyers but to have on it a number of lawyers. To this committee all legal cases should be referred with such report on the facts as can be gotten. The function of the committee is then to determine whether to handle the cases and do what is necessary. This committee should lay down a general policy, namely, that cases which do not specially involve the Negro question but come to you simply because a Negro is involved, should not be handled by the association, but should be referred to the legal-aid societies or other charitable institutions, and that only cases should be referred to the committee about which the executive officer of the society has doubt.

"If a case is likely to involve a large sum of money for its prosecution, undoubtedly a special appeal would produce the funds.

"In addition to your legal committee you should employ counsel whose function would be to ascertain the facts and law in the case referred to him and make a report on it, and if the committee desires that it be prosecuted, to arrange for its proper prosecution. Counsel can undoubtedly secure lawyers at reasonable terms or free who will conduct these cases."

¶ The New York Vigilance Committee, the association's local branch, of which Messrs. J. E. Spingarn and Gilchrist Stewart are the leaders, reported that it had opened an office with a stenographer in attendance and a telephone so that it might be always ready for service. The branch is now handling a number of cases, one of a man's arrest following his attempt to protect himself from attack by a mob, three of violation of the civil-rights law, and several dealing with the beating of persons by policemen or by thugs. The branch believes that it is in a fair way to stop the unnecessary roughness shown in the past by

the New York police in dealing with colored people. Prof. Spingarn, in the course of his speech, said:

"The New York branch labors under a peculiar difficulty. Unlike the National Association, it has no violent outrages confronting it; it can present no picturesque wrongs to arouse public opinion or to inflame the popular imagination. New York has no disfranchisement; it has no lynchings (at least, not yet); it has no Jim Crow legislation. And yet, despite these facts, colored men and women in this city are confronted every day of their lives with the most galling conditions; they are subjected to insult, passive or active; they are refused service and courteous treatment even in the places where they are guaranteed absolute equality with their white brethren by legal statutes. They have other and more specific wrongs to complain of, including actual injustice in the courts of justice; but I am not speaking of these. I am thinking rather of the studied humiliation imposed upon them daily by three million people.

"Personally I am inclined to think that this is in a sense even more dangerous than some of the more picturesque problems with which the National Association is struggling. Lynching, after all, is a mere sporadic brutality; and men have given vent to brutal passions whenever their loves and hates have been aroused. But this is not sporadic; it is due to no unreasoned impulse. It is continuous; it is reasoned; it is studied. Caste is a more difficult thing to combat than an occasional and meaningless outrage; and unless we ameliorate conditions here, we shall be confronted with a system of actual caste. If all the forces opposed to caste, to privilege, to inequality of justice and opportunity, do not join together to combat these conditions and to educate public opinion, it will not be long before the conditions in New York will be the exact counterpart of those in every city of the South.

"It is to this work that the New York branch has committed itself. It is constantly attacking specific problems of discrimination or outrage as these come to it from time to time upon the complaints of the individual victims. But it is desirous of doing more than this. It hopes to be able ere long to make an organized attack on the whole system of discrimination in places of public accommodation in order that the laws guaranteeing equal rights shall not forever remain the mere symbols of our hypocrisy—visible proofs of the impotence of our great democracy to cope with caste."

¶ Mr. Joseph P. Loud reported for the Boston branch. Immediately after the third annual conference of the association, held in Boston in March, a local committee was formed as follows: Chairman, Mr. J. P. Loud; treasurer, Mr. George C. Bradford; secretary, Mr. Butler R. Wilson; committee on membership, Mrs. J. P. Loud and Mr. Francis J. Garrison.

During the summer the branch successfully opposed several cases of discrimination against colored people. The centenary of the birth of Wendell Phillips was celebrated with a meeting that attracted much attention from the press. The final organization of the branch will be perfected at a meeting set for February 8. In the nine months since the conference $1,368.95 has been raised by collections, dues and membership fees.

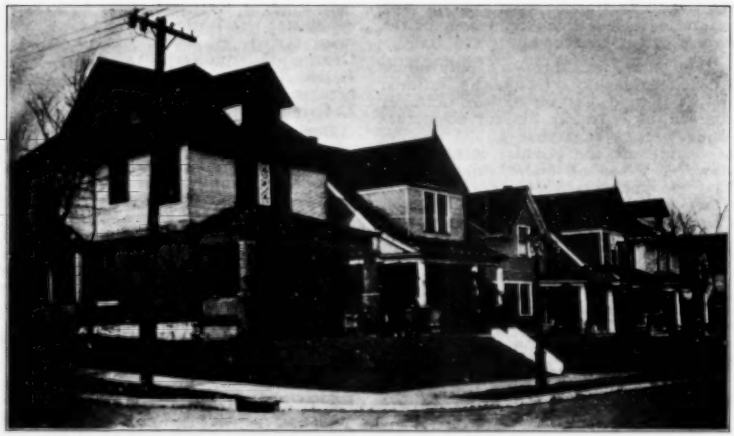
¶ Mrs. M. D. Maclean reported at some length on her visit to Coatesville, which will be fully described in a future issue of THE CRISIS. She was sent by the association to discover the facts in regard to certain sensational stories in the newspaper which told of attacks on white women by colored men. There had been three such stories and she found two of them to be absolutely without foundation. The third had its basis in the fact that a colored man had, apparently, seized or threatened to seize a schoolgirl who was wearing a watch on the outside of her coat. All three of the press stories have spoken of attacks which had nearly provoked lynchings.

Mrs. Maclean also reported that the trials for the lynching of "Zach" Walker last August were not over as most people understood. Three men are still in jail charged with complicity in this crime and three are out on bail. There is more hope of conviction now than there was at the former trials.

There is a small but earnest party in Coatesville which deeply feels the disgrace that the lynching of Walker brought on the town, and our representative received cordial help from them in her investigations. The majority of the townspeople, however, seem to feel that talk of the lynching even with the end of punishing the murderers "hurts business" and should be dropped.

Mrs. Maclean reported that she did not think the State had done its duty in regard to seeking and punishing the guilty persons. Much had been left undone, many lines of investigation had not been followed out, and little money had been spent.

¶ A board of thirty directors was elected at this meeting; their names appear on the third page of the cover of THE CRISIS. After the meeting of the corporation the directors, according to law, met and elected the officers of the association for the ensuing year.



COLORED RESIDENCES—EAST SIDE OF MONTGALL AVENUE

DYNAMITE IN KANSAS CITY

[SOME CORRESPONDENCE]

In November this association received a letter from a well-known colored resident of Kansas City, Mo., which said:

"We desire to place before the legal department of the N. A. A. C. P. the case of a group of Negroes of Kansas City, Mo., who have suffered repeated attempts to destroy their property by an organization of white men who have demanded that they leave the neighborhood. There are nine Negro families in one block and twelve in the next who have purchased or are in progress of buying their homes, ranging in price from $1,500 to $4,000. In the block in which I live five explosions of dynamite have occurred in the past year, causing considerable damage to our homes and much mental uneasiness on the part of our families. The last of these, which happened Saturday, November 11, was by far the most destructive of them all, completely wrecking the home of Mr. Hezekiah Walden. At that time Mr. Walden was working in Salt Lake City and his wife with two small children were alone in the house.

"We have again and again appealed to the mayor and the chief of police to give us protection from these crimes, but the detectives have been of no help either in running the perpetrators to earth or in checking further threats and outrages. We feel that we have a clear case against the city, inasmuch as we have all faithfully discharged our duties as citizens, and we are about to retain eminent legal counsel to defend our cause. In addition to this we beg that we may have the assistance of some member of the legal department of the N. A. A. C. P., who will join us in vigorously prosecuting this case.

"We fear (as threats have already been issued) that our entire settlement will be dynamited unless active steps are taken to force the city to protect our lives and property. Aside from this, if Negroes are to be driven from one section of a city to another simply because a certain element (many of whom have moved into the neighborhood after the Negroes) demand it, we feel that no place will be left to them except the worst districts, even though they try to be peaceable, honest and industrious members of the community.

"We shall be glad to furnish you any particulars regarding the situation or its history, and, besides, such photographs of the houses and surroundings as you may consider beneficial to the case. We shall appreciate, also, an early reply.

"Very truly yours,"

.....

The association immediately took up this case and obtained further detailed information from a resident.

"You will recall our neighborhood when you drove out one day when here,

COLORED RESIDENCES—WEST SIDE OF MONTGALL AVENUE

when my sister was with me. There are nine homes owned by colored people at this end of the block. The enclosed photos show you the two opposite sides of the street, Montgall, near 25th. The colored people have lived in these houses for periods ranging from eight years to two years. When the first colored man purchased in the block there were only three white families in the near neighborhood at the other end of the block. New houses were put up near and sold to whites, except the one adjacent to the colored family, which, after standing vacant for a while, was sold to a colored family, and then the other whites gradually sold out and moved away till there were nine colored in this block and about fifteen in the block to the north of this one. They lived in these peacefully till nearly three years ago, when the agitation began that some Republican boss had 'Africanized' the tenth ward. Meetings were held in a hall, denouncing agents and others who had sold to the colored people, and it was said that they must go by fair means or foul—that they had depreciated property, etc., etc. Feeling ran high, and when a place on a neighboring street where no colored people had been, was sold to a Negro, the throwing of dynamite began. After three attacks on this house, the colored man moved out, and in a few weeks after that they began trying the same methods in our neighborhood on Montgall.

"Up to the last attack the main injury done was the breaking of windows, but on the night of November 9 last a discharge was set off in the Walden house, wrecking it almost completely, so that it is unsafe to live in and could be repaired only at very great expense; the house cost originally about $3,400. His wife and children were alone in the house, he being in Utah, but fortunately were uninjured and made their home with a neighbor until they could get quarters in another part of the city.

"The first press notices said it was probably a gas explosion, but the insurance company, of course, showed that this was untrue and refused to pay insurance, and the house stands a wreck.

"The photos will show you the nine houses in question, five on the west side and four on the east. They would average about $3,000 in value, probably aggregating $30,000; two of the cottages have five rooms, others six and seven rooms; they are brick and frame and modern in every respect.

"No offers have been made to buy the places; they have been told indirectly that they must move out and leave their homes with agents and they will be sold.

"To us that is not a businesslike proposition and we have not moved. Only one house has been vacant about a year, the one owned by Dr. Unthank, and later bought by a colored teacher, who has not lived in it.

"Two families have recently received threatening letters telling them to move out within thirty days, over the signature of 'Dynamite.' I understand that the letters were turned over to the postal inspector.

"The newspapers are almost silent, have very brief notices, a few remarks about the Negroes being in white neighborhoods, where their presence is objectionable, etc.

"The officers claim not to be able to get any information about the matter. I wish we were able to hire W. J. Burns. I think he could get them.

"The meetings that started the trouble are not held publicly now, but, it is supposed, in some private house, and that the throwers of the bombs are hired for the purpose.

"Respectfully,"

.....

The governor of the State was approached and responded as follows:

"Replying to your letter of December 15, I enclose to you herewith a letter from Hon. Solon T. Gilmore, police commissioner of Kansas City, to whom your letter was referred, together with the files of this office concerning the matter about which you write me."

The police files gave these facts:

"The first explosion happened on April 8, 1910, when the house located at 2451 Chestnut Street and occupied by A. G. Howard, colored, was dynamited and the house slightly damaged. On December 27, 1910, there was an explosion between the houses occupied by W. E. Griffin, colored, 2442 Montgall Avenue, and Miss Annie Jones, colored, of 2444 Montgall. Both of the houses were badly damaged and the house occupied by I. N. Day, 2440 Montgall, and Gearald Taylor, 2436 Montgall, were also slightly damaged at this time. On March 31, 1911, the house occupied by Susie Lewis, colored, at 3200 East Howard Avenue and owned by Mrs. Stoelzing, of 2424 Park Avenue, was dynamited, the explosion wrecking the rear of the house and slightly damaged several houses nearby. On May 22, 1911, the house of W. E. Griffin, colored, 2442 Montgall Avenue, was dynamited for the second time and the house badly damaged and several windows broken in the neighborhood. On July 16, 1911, the home of Mrs. H. M. Reid, colored, 2461 Montgall Avenue, was dynamited and the house partly wrecked. On November 11, 1911, the house located at 2442 Montgall Avenue was either dynamited or the explosion was caused by leaking gas.

"No arrests have been made of any of the perpetrators of these dynamiting outrages, and the supposition is that these houses were being dynamited by the white people in that neighborhood who desired to rid the neighborhood of these colored families. This was the theory on which the police department was working when they received information on November 26, 1911, from a colored man by the name of Louis Jackson, who stated that the houses were being dynamited by one Floyd Bullock, a colored man, who stated that he was dynamiting the houses for the reason that he desired to reduce the value of property in that neighborhood. Bullock has since been arrested on a charge of carrying concealed weapons and is at the present time under for three years in the penitentiary."

A prominent white man writes this letter:

"Personally, I am inclined to suspect that on account of race prejudice here detectives have not shown the energy which they should have shown. We have no reason of doubting, however, that the police board has been sincere in its desire to arrest the offenders. The situation is a very difficult one.

"There is a very strong suspicion that the explosions have been carried on by an organization of white property owners. Early this week a Negro was sent to the penitentiary on the charge that he was guilty of the dynamiting at the solicitation of other Negroes who desired to depreciate the value of property in the neighborhood. While we do not pretend to be detectives and have no means of disproving the charge, the story hardly seems probable.

"Yours truly,"

.....

A white lady writes:

"The whole web of black and white is so badly tangled here that even help has to get to these people quietly or it brings them trouble.

"Please don't think I was not interested or that we did not want to give all the help possible. It is only very difficult to find the most helpful way of doing it."

.....

The Kansas City Star had the following editorial December 29, 1911:

"The credulity of Judge Latshaw of the criminal court is quite remarkable. Judge Latshaw believes that a Negro dynamited the homes of Negroes at the instigation of Negroes! Such guileless gullibility is enviable.

"But that is neither here nor there.

"More to the point is it that because of this belief Judge Latshaw sentenced the Negro to three years in the penitentiary, although the only charge against him was that of carrying concealed weapons. That is to say, the former extreme penalty of 'gun toting' was two years in prison; and many guilty ones have received only jail sentences or have escaped with a reprimand; but this man was sentenced to three years in prison because the judge suspected him of a different crime.

"That was doubtless legal, for otherwise the judge would not have done it. But ought it to be legal? Ought a man who pleads guilty to one offense be given at least a year in the penitentiary for a crime he is not even legally accused of?"

Disfranchising Voters in Maryland

[The following account of the working of the attempts, in Maryland, to disfranchise white and colored voters alike is taken from a pamphlet by Vernon S. Bradley, endorsed and published by the Honest Ballot League of that State. Our article is a greatly condensed version of Mr. Bradley's story, but it contains the leading facts.]

The legislature of Maryland met in extraordinary session in March of 1901 to pass a new election law to restrict the Maryland suffrage. In a continued development of this plan each succeeding legislature added numerous amendments, the most sweeping of which was the Wilson law of 1904. The Wilson law is in operation in eleven counties of Maryland, and the public outside these counties has little knowledge of what it is.

It is necessary to remember that the legislature of 1896 gave to Maryland the Australian ballot law, providing, among other things, for bipartisan election officials; permitting the use of an emblem by each political party and requiring a voter to make but one X mark to have his ballot counted for the entire ticket of his choice.

The legislature of 1901 abolished the party emblem. The picture of "Abe Lincoln" or of Andrew Jackson, or of the hickory tree was permitted no longer as an emblem or guide for the voter. The voter was required to make a separate X mark for every candidate for whom he voted. Supervisors of election were directed to arrange alphabetically on the official ballots the names of the various candidates. The supervisors of election, or a majority of them, were authorized to accept nominations from two parties using the same party designation, by prefixing to one some such qualifying term as "Independent." This was the stepping stone to the first fake tickets in Maryland in the November election of 1901. Ballots could be rejected for trifling cause.

The acts of 1902 gave the three supervisors of election, or a majority of each board (two being Democrats), the "power to make all rules necessary and regulations not inconsistent with this article." A majority vote of the supervisors was made sufficient to determine all questions. The discretionary powers of the two Democratic supervisors were enlarged. The next step was to give to them almost unlimited discretionary powers in the Wilson law of 1904.

The Wilson law abolished the party designation. The alphabetical arrangement of names of candidates for county and State offices was abolished. It gave to the two Democratic members of each board of election supervisors power to arrange names of candidates and to determine practically all questions relating to the ballot; it gave to them discretionary powers almost absolute. The law was applied to Somerset, Worcester, Kent, Talbot, St. Mary's, Charles, Calvert, Prince George's and Anne Arundel counties.

The Democratic politicians responsible for the Wilson law need the Negro for their annual and most effective campaign issue. But Maryland is not in danger of Negro domination. Only 17 per cent. of the registered vote of the State is Negro, and surely there is small compliment to the 83 per cent. white voters to have it fear domination by the 17 per cent. colored vote. While the white registered vote has been increasing constantly, the colored registered vote has remained practically the same for twenty-five years. Twenty per cent. of the total registered vote of Maryland was colored in 1888; 17 per cent. of the total registered vote was colored in 1910. The cry of Negro domination is a fanciful issue, raised for political purposes only.

Various tricks to disfranchise votes were resorted to. As an example in Somerset County in 1903 a "fake ticket" ballot was used, with the name of a "Repudiation" party. Here is a facsimile:

FOR REGISTER OF WILLS

Vote for One

Thomas Dixon	Democratic	
William S. Lankford	Repudiation	
William F. Lankford	Republican	
Woodland Allison Long	Prohibition	

It was hoped the Republican looking for William F. Lankford would vote for William S. Lankford or both; or that in looking for Republican would make his X mark after Repudiation or both.

Next appears the Somerset official ballot of 1907. As usual, it was a trick ballot, and had also a fake ticket. It was an illustrated ballot that furnished an emblem to the voter for the Democratic candidates and confusion to the voters for candidates of other parties. A Democratic voter had only to mark above the black lines, and illiterates among the Democratic voters were told to mark above these lines. The names

of the candidates on the Republican ticket were mixed up in confusion, and the Republican voters had to search all over the ballot for the names of the candidates for whom they desired to vote. The law had been changed and party emblems had been prohibited, as well as any other assistance to any voter; yet in defiance of this law the supervisors of election deliberately arranged a ballot with an emblem or heavy black guide line above the name of every Democratic candidate to assist the Democratic voter, but denied that guide line or any similar assistance to the Republican voter.

This Somerset ballot had not only guide lines to assist the Democratic voter, but it had also a fake ticket with fake names of candidates looking like the names of Republican candidates, designed to draw accidentally to these fake names votes intended for the Republican candidates. For instance, Abraham Lincoln Dryden, a candidate on the Republican ticket, was paired off with Sidney Columbus Dryden, a fake candidate. (The same Sidney Columbus Dryden was used on a fake ticket to defeat Abraham Lincoln Dryden on the Somerset ballot of 1909). Isaac Henry Hall was paired off with George Emory Hall. Other similar names were found for fake nominations for the House of Delegates.

Charles County Official Ballot of 1909

PART OF A BALLOT, FOUR AND ONE-HALF FEET LONG

The Wilson law is a piece of class legislation. It has been submitted to popular vote in no county in Maryland. It was devised by a class of Democratic politicians that needed such means to perfect an organization that would be proof against the Republican and the Independent voter. It has been applied to Republican counties, and it has accomplished the purpose intended; for in no county in Maryland have the Republicans elected a full county ticket where the Wilson law was in operation. Counties that before the days of the Wilson law were close, or safely Republican, now give regular majorities to the Democratic ticket. No sample ballots are published in the Wilson counties. The Democratic supervisors furnish in advance instructions to the voters of their own party and have ballots distributed for instruction purposes; but the Republican supervisor and the Republican voters are kept in ignorance of the form of the ballot until the time is too short for instruction of the voters of their party.

The registered vote of Maryland in 1909 was about 11,000 more than in 1899, while the counted vote was about 50,000 less than in 1899. While 89 per cent. of the registered vote of Maryland was counted in 1899, only 69 per cent. of the registered vote was counted in 1909. The loss in the counted vote in ten years represents the voters disfranchised by the Wilson ballot and by similar election legislation. This disfranchised vote is of two kinds: First, the stay-at-home vote; second, the rejected vote thrown out by the election officials in the poll room. Of course, the total registered vote never is polled and counted. There is always a certain number of registered voters that do not vote.

The stay-at-home disfranchised vote is greater among the white voters than among the colored. If 68 per cent. of the white registered vote of Somerset county came out and voted, 32 per cent. stayed at home; but only 22 per cent. of the Negro voter stayed at home in this county, for 78 per cent. of the Negro registered vote came out and voted. The percentage is about the same in Dorchester county.

So much for the stay-at-home vote. The greater part of the vote disfranchised by the Wilson ballot is represented in the rejected or throw-out vote. In the November election in 1909 there were 4,154 votes counted in Dorchester county for all the candidates on the State ticket, the highest vote. Three thousand, three hundred and five were counted in the Democratic primary two

months before. Only 882 more votes (Republican, Democratic and Prohibitionist) were counted in the general election than in the Democratic primary, though the Republican vote in the general election ran as high as 2,007.

[As we are about to go to press news comes that the Wilson ballot law has been repealed and the Bosley bill substituted. The Republican success at the polls last autumn made some change necessary, but the Bosley bill is declared by the Independents to be no better or even more confusing than the old law. For example, no party emblems are permitted and the voter must remember the political creeds of thirty-six candidates.]

The "N" Street Day Nursery.

A modest little six-room frame building at 417 N. Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., shelters the Day Nursery for Colored Children. So unpretentiously has the work been carried on that the nursery has no definite name, but takes the name of the street upon which it happens to be located.

In October, 1904, this movement was started by a group of white women, of which Mrs. Joseph A. Gilfillan was the leading spirit, acting as secretary for the board and general manager for the work.

A part of the first annual report of the secretary reads as follows: "There are three principal ways in which the little colored children of this city are disposed of when their mothers go out for a day's work, as they must do to get bread for the children. One is to lock them in the house, babies and all, to care for each other. Another is to turn them over to the care of a neighbor, who, with her own family to look after, instead of going out to work, takes in washing. A third, to keep an older child home from school to give such care as she can. Is it any wonder that the district nurses have some pitiful tales to tell of accidents that have happened? One of a child that was badly burned; another of a baby that was found a living skeleton. It had been left in the charge of a child of four years, who gave it its bottle faithfully, but whether the milk was hot or cold, sweet or sour, was all the same. Both of these children, by having proper care, recovered.

"The health report shows that out of every 1,000 colored babies born in Washington 457 die within their first year; while in the same number of white babies only 183 die. Nor is this all. No one who has lived long in Washington can have failed to notice the large number of deformities among the colored people, due to neglect in infancy. * * *

"The nursery is open every day, Sundays and legal holidays excepted, from 7 a. m. to 7 p. m.; the mothers bringing the babies in the morning and coming for them at night. They are required to pay five cents a day for the care of each child and also to bring all necessary food, which the caretaker prepares for each child, the nursery furnishing only the milk; so that, although the nursery is a charity in the sense that it is not and never can be self-supporting, it does not have the effect of a charity on those who get the benefit of it. A supply of clothing is kept on hand and after the babies are bathed they are allowed to wear it through the day, but their own clothes are put on before they go home. The effect of such care was shown in the case of one baby whose mother was quite disturbed the first night she took the baby home because it slept all night. The next morning she demanded, 'What have you been giving my baby? It never slept all night before.' The caretaker told her all she had given it was a bath and a good rubbing."

The foregoing shows the discerning sympathy and the desire for loving service which prompted the opening of the nursery; the same spirit has carried on the work through many vicissitudes.

After the nursery had been in operation for some months, the management very justly felt that colored women should take part in its development, and in 1905 Mrs. Gilfillan requested the assistance of the Alpha Charity Club of Anacostia, D. C., through its founder

and president, Mrs. Leila Amos Pendleton. The club responded at once, and, together with the Social Purity Club of Washington, has lent assistance, giving money, fuel, food, garments, etc. These women have also tried to explain to the mothers of the neighborhood the meaning and purpose of the nursery.

In June, 1910, Mrs. Pendleton, president, and Mrs. W. Bruce Evans, vice-president, of the Social Purity Club, visited the five school buildings in the vicinity of the nursery in the effort to interest the children and teachers in the work. The children were invited to attend a "party" and a large number responded. The girls were invited to attend a vacation school (a lack of space and of volunteer teachers prevented a like invitation to the boys), and on Tuesday, July 5, the vacation school was opened.

DAY NURSERY CHILDREN

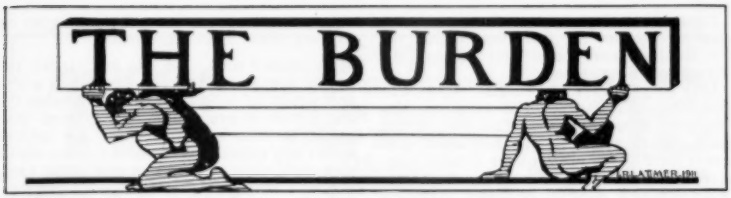
A number of outgrown garments had been solicited and the girls were taught to make over large articles into smaller ones, to darn, patch and mend; they were also given simple lessons in cooking cereals, apples, potatoes, etc. When the public schools opened in the fall, the girls expressed a desire to attend the sewing class on Saturdays, and so the members of the Social Purity Club have conducted the vacation school and the Saturday class alternately.

The result has been a marked improvement in the manners and the entire tone of the girls of the neighborhood.

HISTORIC DAYS IN FEBRUARY

1. Charles Lenox Remond, worker in the cause of abolition, born, 1810.
2. Georgia ratified the Fifteenth Amendment, 1870.
3. Pennsylvania Abolition Society petitioned Congress to abolish slavery, 1790.
4. James G. Birney, Free Soil candidate for President, born, 1792.
5. Resolution presented in Congress for annihilation of slave trade, 1820.
6. Thaddeus Stevens reported Reconstruction Bill in Congress, 1867.
8. Confederate States forbid importation of slaves, 1861.
9. Recruiting 54th Massachusetts Regiment began, 1863.
10. Paul Laurence Dunbar died, 1906.
11. Bishop J. M. Walden, friend of Negro education, born, 1831.
12. Abraham Lincoln born, 1809. First Fugitive Slave Act, 1793.
13. Absalom Jones, first Negro Protestant Episcopal minister in the United States, died, 1818.
14. Frederick Douglass' birthday, 1817. Mr. Douglass never knew the day and year of his birth. By a system of approximation, explained in his "Life and Times," he concluded that he must have been born about the year 1817. He selected St. Valentine's Day as his birthday, because, as he used facetiously to remark, he was his race's "Valentine."
15. Blanche K. Bruce, a Negro senator from Mississippi, presided over the United States Senate, 1879.
16. Henry Wilson, abolitionist, senator and Vice-President of the United States, born, 1812.
17. Nebraska ratified the Fifteenth Amendment, 1870.
18. Texas ratified the Fifteenth Amendment, 1870.
20. Frederick Douglass died, 1895.
23. Charles Sumner opposed, in the Senate of the United States, a bust to Chief Justice Taney, author of the Dred Scott decision, 1865.
24. Bishop Daniel A. Payne born, 1811.
25. Hiram R. Revels, first Negro United States senator, took the oath of office as senator, 1870.
26. General Grant forbade search for slaves in his lines, 1862.
27. Dominican Republic formed, 1844.

L. M. HERSHAW.



RENTING A HOUSE IN PHILADELPHIA.

I never had the experience of renting a house in my life until last June. I had attempted to buy a house, but after the bargain was about made, except transferring funds, the owner, who seemed at first anxious to sell, decided not to sell to a colored person.

So I decided to rent until I could find the kind of house I wanted to purchase. The first house recommended to me for rental belonged to the Stephen Girard Estate. Over the telephone I was told that I might have it, and that the agent would go with my wife to show her through it. However, when my wife appeared, the agent was "too sorry to put her to the trouble," but he "could not rent to colored people." The house was on Sansom Street, between 40th and 41st Streets. On one side of it most of the occupants are colored. This was therefore surprising.

I then called up several other agents. All of them gave me houses, out of repair or on poorly paved and poorly kept streets, some positively filthy, because I told them I desired a house "for a colored clergyman."

Not being satisfied, the next day I called up Wm. J. Benham, and this was the conversation between us:

"This is Wm. J. Benham, Incorporated. What can we do for you?"

"I am Dr. R. R. Wright, of 105 S. 34th Street. I hear you have some nice little houses on Ruby Street, and I want to rent one."

"All right, doctor, we have numbers — —— —— and —— on South Ruby. The rent is $18 per month; six rooms and bath, all conveniences."

"Yes, but haven't you some in the next block, above Market—on North Ruby?"

After a long pause: "Y-e-s, I think we have."

"All right, I want one of them; when can I get it?"

"Now, doctor, to be perfectly frank with you, I don't think you would care to have a house on North Ruby. You know—er—you know, er—er—they are—why, colored people live chiefly on North Ruby."

"What difference does that make, Mr. Benham?"

"Well, I thought you would not like to live among them."

"I don't if they are thieves, drunkards, wife beaters and general disturbers of the peace."

"Oh, they aren't so bad as that, doctor, but you know they are colored."

"Are they respectable, quiet and law abiding? That's what I want to know."

"Oh, yes."

"Well, I like colored people. I am from the South and I am used to them. My father hires colored people, and I employ a dozen or more in my business. You see, I make most of my money out of them. They are a fine loyal set when you know them—I mean the respectable ones, of course."

"Yes," came weakly over the 'phone.

"Now, Mr. Benham, I want a house on North Ruby."

"Doctor, it will cost you $20."

"But I thought you said $18?"

"No, $18 for South Ruby, but $20 for North Ruby."

"Are they the same houses?"

"Yes."

"Why $2 more?"

"Well, that is the charge."

"Oh, you have them pay $2 for the privilege of being colored, do you? I see."

"Yes, I guess you are right, doctor."

"But you are not going to charge me $20?"

After a long pause: "You see, we can rent that for $20 to a colored man, and so I guess we will have to charge you $20."

"Well, I will take a house on South Ruby at $18. For, as much as I like the colored people, I am not going to throw any money away."

"All right, doctor, we have No. —— South Ruby; you can have that for $18."

After a pause: "Now, you see, Mr. Benham, if it turned out that I am colored, could I still rent a house on South Ruby for $18?" Still longer pause: "Yes, I am a colored man, Dr. R. R. Wright."

"Well, doctor, I don't know; I'll have to see and I'll call you up."

From that day to this I have never been called up. I, however, called on Mr. Benham and found that he had "no houses on South Ruby."

May say that I did move on North Ruby, pay $20 per month (not to Mr. Benham, however), and find the street quite respectable. There has been one arrest during the six months I have been here, also one case of serious drunkenness and one quarrel between families. In none of these were Negroes involved. Within a year the street has changed from an all white to two-thirds colored, and all the remaining whites have "for sale" signs on their houses.

R. R. WRIGHT, JR.

¶ The International Moulders' Journal says: "Another argument used was that if we took the Negro molder into our union we would place him in a position to work in any of our shops, and by this means the Negro would soon have all the foundries south of the Mason and Dixon line. This, in my opinion, is one of the weakest arguments advanced. If these brothers could come to Chattanooga, Tenn., and see some of the Chattanooga foundries that are working Negro molders, where there are no restrictions placed on the number of handy men and apprentices worked, he would soon realize that if something was not done soon to get us in a position to stop this evil, the Negro in a very short time would be in a better position to do the very thing that they claim they are afraid would happen by allowing them to join our union. The only way to stop this practice is by organizing the Negro molders and insisting on the foundries living up to the ratio of apprentices. If the Molders' Union had taken up this work of taking the Negro into their union years ago the Chattanooga foundries of to-day would not be used as incubators to turn out Negro molders, and instead of having hundreds of Negro molders, there would have been very few." The man virtually says, take Negroes into the union so as to keep them out of the trade.

¶ A colored man who has not visited the South for several years recently took a trip and writes as follows: "After crossing the line I took in everything. No colored man could go into the coaches of the whites under any consideration, and yet the white men could come into our car and drink beer, use bad language and smoke among our women travelers. I saw the conductor and flagman smoking in our car. The company can provide smokers for the whites to keep them from smoking in the presence of their women passengers. Why can't it do the same for us? I was born in the South and stayed there until I was 24 years old, and I admit that the condition of the colored race is growing steadily worse on account of the oppression of the whites."

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